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# PEACE NEWS

Brotherhood : Non-Violence : Freedom

No. 913

December 25, 1953

FOURPENCE (U.S. 5 cents)

## Eisenhower and the atomic dilemma

PAGE TWO

### THE WEST spends more on arms than ASIA has for everything

Arms bill of the NATO  
countries for 1953 is \$63,500  
million or £23,392 million.

This exceeds the total income  
of all the people of Asia\* by  
\$5,500 million dollars.

\*Latest available figure is for 1949:  
\$58,000m. Source UN Statistical Papers  
E/3 (New York, 1951).

### DANES DEBATE: Are Scouts and Guides for peace or war?

AN enquiry by a reader in the Danish  
journal "Pacifisten" as to whether  
Scouts and Guides were being trained to  
become future members of the Home  
Guard has set off a furious debate in  
that journal.

The first response came from a scoutmaster  
of nineteen years standing, who had been

● Continued on Page 6

## "WAGING PEACE" Three urge Labour to think again

By FRANCIS RONA

"It is the constant duty of democrats to re-examine the assumptions  
underlying current policy in the light of events . . . to put before the  
people of our country the urgent need for a change of direction."

THIS is the basic approach of the joint  
authors of the new pamphlet "WAGING  
PEACE." Sir Richard Acland, Fenner  
Brockway and Leslie Hale, three MPs  
well known to readers of Peace News for  
their outspoken criticism of Colonial  
oppression.

The presentation of this new constructive  
programme will certainly influence future  
policy statements of Labour's Executive Com-  
mittee for, to put it mildly, a critical re-  
examination of the "arms drive" and  
Colonial development is much overdue.

The pamphlet excels in its consistency of  
argument and in factual demonstration of the  
wrong assumptions "upon which we based our  
policy in the winter of 1950-51."

The two repudiated assumptions are:  
1. That there was serious and imminent danger  
of aggression from the Soviet Union, and  
2. "In making it our first priority to co-  
operate with others in building up armed  
forces for the West under American leader-  
ship."

#### 1950 nonsense

One has only to contrast this pamphlet with  
the Labour Party's 1950 programme, "Labour  
and the New Society" to see how necessary  
is the re-examination called for by the three  
MPs.

Who, today, can defend such nonsense as  
the following:

"The only safeguard against aggression  
is the collective strength of the peace-loving  
nations, and the cost must be borne. Paying  
for defence is bound to limit the money  
available for social services or tax reduction.

"The United States and Britain are  
already making a very large contribution to  
world development. The United States  
has given immense assistance and is inspired  
by the vision of world-wide economic  
advance. Britain is building up the resources  
of the Colonies . . ." (Our italics)

These were the contradictory "aims" and  
"facts" in 1950. And today? The Labour  
Party Executive, who introduced the  
economically disastrous £5,200 million "arms  
drive" under Mr. Gaitskell's Chancellorship,  
will persistently overlooks the fact that rearm-  
ment is the limiting factor in Commonwealth  
development and condemns Britain's economy  
to stagnation.

Rearmament prevents "world development"

## MPs ANGRY AT WHITE TERROR IN KENYA "£5 for the first kill"

MORE evidence that British troops have been urged to go out to kill, not capture,  
in Kenya and Malaya has come to light with the publication of reports on  
"scoreboard killings" in regimental magazines.

The magazine of the Devonshire Regiment  
(nicknamed: "The Bloody Eleven") reports  
that on their second patrol in Kenya, "A"  
Company "chalked up" their first kill, adding:

"But as 'D' Company claimed a Mau  
Mau on the same day the commanding  
officer's prize of £5 for 'the first kill' had  
to be shared."

The magazine told of a sergeant in "D"  
Company who, "after giving the colonel his  
word that he would not return without a kill,  
proceeded into the forest and was back in  
camp after only three days, having fulfilled  
his promise."

"C" Company reported that in one area,  
"the lack of Mau Mau was, to a certain  
extent, compensated for by the abundance of  
elephant, rhinoceros, baboons, and all types of  
buck," they added, however, that "Our record  
to date—of which we are justly proud—  
reached 24 killed, 4 captured."

Earlier reports of brutality in Kenya came  
to light during the court martial of Captain  
Griffiths. Four copies of the full report of the  
trial have been made available to MPs only in  
the Library of the House of Commons.

Members are now demanding that the whole  
document be made available to the public.  
"It discloses a terrible atmosphere of light-  
hearted brutality," Mr. Tom Driberg MP said  
on Monday.

Meanwhile the "white Mau Mau," the  
Kenya Police Reserve, is continuing the ex-  
cesses, first reported in Peace News last June  
in a despatch from Reginald Reynolds who  
was then in Kenya.

On Monday at the hearing of charges  
against a European and seven Africans accused

### What we said in June

From Reginald Reynolds' Kenya  
dispatch published in Peace News  
on June 26, 1953.

For an African even to be educated is  
to be suspect. "Why," asked one Kikuyu  
pointedly, "is it nearly always the educated  
Africans who fail to bolt when challenged  
by a patrol and are shot dead?" Shot  
dead, notice: the marksmanship of the  
KPR is suspiciously accurate.

There are lawyers who have details of  
many unpleasant cases—alleged murders  
and beatings, on the Black and Tan model.  
The massive files are impressive; but  
nobody imagines they represent more than  
a small fraction of the total.

A man who has been illegally flogged  
by the representatives of law and order  
will think twice before he risks a repeti-  
tion (or something worse) by complaining.  
A dead man will tell no tales and his rela-  
tives may fear to share his fate. If only  
one-tenth of the allegations should turn  
out to be true the case against the Govern-  
ment would be a heavy one—and from my  
reading of the affidavits I should say there  
is more fire than that in the smoke.

Then why isn't something done about  
it?

Nothing less than a Judicial Enquiry,  
conducted by a Commission appointed in  
London (not by the Kenya Government)  
will enable us to know the full truth.

That alone will inspire confidence and  
encourage lawyers, who know the facts, to  
lead evidence, or the terrified Kikuyus to  
offer it.

That alone will check the lawless activi-  
ties of the White Mau Mau.

How do we know that all, or even most,  
of those admittedly killed by police and  
military were really terrorists? How do  
we know that all the deaths ascribed to the  
Mau Mau were really their work? How  
do we know—with such glaring discrepan-  
cies in the figures—that they are even a  
complete record?

of beating Mau Mau suspects with a rhino  
whip, the following allegations were made:

That a KPR officer had ordered a group  
of Africans to be beaten because they would  
not admit to taking the second grade Mau  
Mau oath; one of the victims was found to  
have 27 wounds and scars on his legs and but-  
tocks, another 24, and two had 16 lash  
marks on their backs.

That two Europeans and four African  
police had held an African over a fire "to  
make him talk"; his shirt touched one of  
the hot stones and was burnt, his stomach  
was badly burned and turned septic.

As soon as the magistrate announced the  
fines a European settler sitting at the back of  
the court wrote out a cheque which he handed  
to the defence council in payment of the KPR  
officer's fine.

#### "Scoreboard killings"

Mr. Fenner Brockway, MP for Eton and  
Slough, and Chairman of the Congress of  
Peoples Against Imperialism, has written to  
the War Minister about the magazine article.

He has also drawn the Minister's attention  
to another article in the journal of the Queen's  
Own Royal West Kent Regiment which refers  
to scoreboard killings in Malaya.

FOOTNOTE: There are teen-age conscripts  
in practically every British regiment.

### BHAVE, SOPER BROADCAST ON CHRISTMAS DAY

VINOBA BHAVE, follower of Gandhi, who  
has been walking through India appealing  
to landowners to give land to the landless is  
to broadcast in the BBC's "Queen's Journey"  
programme on Christmas Day.

Dr. Donald Soper broadcasts at 11.30 a.m.  
in the Light Programme from Kingsway Hall  
Mission.

Another pacifist, Thomas Pitfield, contributes  
the Christmas Day Nativity Play.

## Christmas bouquet to Beaverbrook Press

Congratulations to the Daily Express  
and the Evening Standard for the fol-  
lowing forthright comment on three  
major problems of the day:

### THE COLOUR BAR

Who do they think they are, these people  
who cling to the colour bar? Do they  
imagine themselves superior to coloured  
men and women? In fact they show them-  
selves to be vastly inferior. They show it is  
they, not the coloured people, against whom  
a social bar should be erected . . . there must  
be no compromise, no pause and no truce in  
the battle against the colour bar.—*Evening  
Standard, December 15, 1953.*

Mrs. Davies and her baby ("Boko") have  
made a far more valuable gift to Britain than  
any they take back with them. They have  
been the actors in a story with a most power-  
ful message for these times. It is a contem-  
porary Christmas story. It exemplifies eternal  
values in a modern setting.

It did make a difference that Mrs. Davies is  
a coloured woman, and it is a difference to be  
emphasised not suppressed. Every second of  
this drama was heightened by the stark con-  
trast between white science and white in-  
tolerance; between the honest and impulsive  
recognition of human need, on the one hand,  
and hateful prejudice and condescension on  
the other.

At Hammersmith Hospital the best brains  
and the best resources, skill and attention of  
the highest order, given without stint and in  
sincerity, were good enough for Mrs. Davies's  
children. And in the neighbouring borough  
of Kensington half the second-rate hotels,  
and more of the first-rate ones, would  
ordinarily have seen Mrs. Davies in Nigeria  
sooner than give her a bed for the night.

Boko will grow to womanhood a living  
testimony of white enlightenment. But such  
testimonies, in the field of the advancement  
of the coloured peoples, in the extension to  
them of the benefits of Western knowledge, in  
co-operation with them on a footing of  
equality and dignity, are too few and need  
indefinite multiplication. It would be the  
truest Christmas of this era which saw a re-  
gathering of spirit for new and mighty  
enterprises to this end.—*Evening Standard,  
December 21 1953.*

### THE ADMISSION OF CHINA TO UNO

British soldiers have fought and fallen  
in Korea . . . But are such losses, bitter and  
heartfelt as they are, to be regarded as the  
sole criterion of policy? It is not a question  
of "rewarding" the Chinese Reds and "for-  
getting" British casualties. It is a question  
of seeking to achieve a purpose of policy by  
acts of policy.—*Lord Beaverbrook, Daily Ex-  
press, December 15, 1953.*

### THE WAR IN KENYA

Tonight Mr. Brian Hayward will be sleep-  
ing in a comfortable bed, in a comfortable  
hotel in Morogoro—a small town in Tangan-  
ika. Tomorrow morning he will go out to  
work as a surveyor for the Government.

It is a pleasant, placid life for Mr. Hay-  
ward. All the more pleasant as he is serving  
a three months' prison sentence at the same  
time. Mr. Hayward had been found guilty of  
ill-treating Kikuyu tribesmen—Mau Mau  
suspects whom he had been sent to scrutinise  
from Kenya.

What are the Africans in Kenya to  
think when they hear of the case of Mr.  
Hayward? That a white man may ill-treat  
coloured men and women, and then as a  
punishment be sent to a hotel? That there  
is one law for Europeans and another one  
for Africans?—*Evening Standard December  
18, 1953.*

### PROGRESS COMES TO THE ARCTIC

BECAUSE the Eskimo is naturally honest,  
there was never any need to lock doors  
or drawers, writes the Bishop of the Arctic,  
Dr. D. B. Marsh in the Church Times.

Theft was practically unknown among his  
parishioners.

Today, with more and more meteorological  
and radar stations, airports, military outposts  
and fur trading posts springing up, it is  
different, and the Bishop writes:

"You dare not leave anything unattended in  
places like Akavik, for the White man has  
arrived."  
"The Eskimos are looking at the new  
arrivals, and they cannot understand why the  
White man preaches one thing and practises  
another."



## PEACE NEWS

3 Blackstock Road, London, N-4  
STAmford Hill 2262 (three lines)

December 25, 1953

### WHAT HAVE WE DONE TO THEM?

THE Daily Worker for December 12 tells of the change of outlook that occurred to Second-Lieutenant David Larder, a 19-year-old officer who had been on service in Kenya.

Accompanying the account is a photograph of Lieutenant Larder in uniform with a Sten gun, that had been taken for recruiting purposes, and which it seems he had at one time regarded with pride. There is also the photograph of the naked back of a man whom he had shot dead with a Sten gun, tearing away his left shoulder. This photograph had been taken by Lieutenant Larder, who had also chopped off the right hand from the dead body to take back to his headquarters for finger-printing.

David Larder adds that he also had a photograph taken of himself shaking hands with the corpse and in a letter written shortly afterwards describing what had happened he asked, "What has happened to me?" a question he was to ask himself again following other incidents of Kenya warfare in which he participated.

Lieutenant Larder, shortly afterwards deliberately disobeyed an order, was court-martialled, made no attempt to defend himself, and was dismissed from the army.

Mr. Larder sums up:

"Young chaps due for call-up have got to realise the terrible things they are expected to do—and made to do—out there.

"Any decent feelings they have will be completely broken down. They will do things they would not think possible, things they would never dream of doing to their own people at home."

(We remark parenthetically that we have seen no account of Mr. Larder's story in any other newspaper, and we should like to know why. Which of the two likely explanations is the true one? Did Mr. Larder tell his story to the Daily Worker because he found that no other newspaper would publish it, or have the other newspapers kept away from it because it has appeared in the Daily Worker?)

This painful story, it will be observed, is a very topical one, coming just after the trial of Captain Gerald Griffiths. Captain Griffiths shot two Africans in the circumstances described in his trial by court-martial. Lieutenant Larder when he took the photograph, and was photographed, was taking part in an ambush of two Africans. It occurred last June, shortly after the incident for which Captain Griffiths was put on trial.

Of the two men Lieutenant Larder's party was seeking, one escaped and the other was the one shot and photographed.

Let it be noted that there was no question of Lieutenant Larder being tried by court-martial for what he had done. There was nothing of the doubt about it that had attached to the action of Captain Griffiths. What Lieutenant Larder had done was followed by his court-martial, but his trial was of his own seeking.

We wonder whether Captain Griffiths ever asked himself, as did Lieutenant Larder, "What has happened to me?" Possibly not; Captain Griffiths had been an officer in the regular army for 13 years, while young Larder was a lad of 19.

There is a question, however, that every citizen of this country should ask himself. The cases of Captain Griffiths and Lieutenant Larder are not isolated happenings. They are just two instances of a great many similar occurrences that it happens have been given some publicity. How many other lads—decent kindly lads when they left their homes—have since asked themselves "What has happened to me?" How many are asking themselves that question today? How many are likely to have to carry a haunting feeling of guilt to the end of their days?

And it is surely for those who have willed that these lads shall be placed in a situation in which "any decent feelings they have will be broken down"—who have approved the legislation necessary—in their turn to ask themselves "What have we done to them?"

We are writing here of Englishmen, and of what Englishmen are forcing upon Englishmen. The question however is one that citizens of other lands may also very well ask themselves: in France, in the USA, in China, and in Russia.

### Dulles does it again

MR. FOSTER DULLES has told the French that unless they ratify the EDC at an early date there are likely to be no more American dollars for them, and by repeating this threat at a Press conference he has, at least indirectly, interfered in French domestic policy, as he did in the recent German elections.

France is facing the difficulties of a Presidential election and responsible statesmen there have been anxious to keep the issue of EDC out of it.

Mr. Dulles has ruined their efforts in the hope that he may be able to force upon France a President who stands for a policy which the French Assembly has not yet accepted. Moreover, he has intimated a refusal to contemplate any amendment of the existing Treaty and a probable withdrawal of American troops from Europe. Was it a threat or a promise?

When he said of the Western nations "If they decide to commit suicide, they might have to commit it alone," his choice of words was unfortunate. EDC as part of the Western system of defence has contributed to the international tension and the armaments race. If the Western Powers insist on integrating Germany into it, it makes the reunification of Germany impossible and creates in Europe the equivalent of the 38th Parallel in Korea.

It is part of a policy which, if persisted in, makes war increasingly likely, and it is a third world war which spells suicide to all concerned.

### If EDC goes

Mr. Dulles might ask himself what value there would be in a ratification which was against the considered judgment of the majority of the French people, and obtained by extreme pressure and threats.

The reaction in France as contrasted with Germany has been the opposite to that which Mr. Dulles hoped, and strong resentment is expressed which may well decide some of the hesitant deputies to vote against ratification.

Many responsible Frenchmen are speaking of the most serious crisis in Franco-American relationship since the war. One leading official is reported to have said "This is the end of the Treaty."

If that prophecy should prove true, Mr. Dulles may have done unwittingly a greater service than by any of his premeditated actions.

With EDC dead the Berlin conference would be more free to discuss a peaceful solution of the German problem, and Britain and America would have to rethink their defence policy in terms which could contribute to the lessening of international tension instead of increasing it.

### The irony of history

A PROFOUND irony underlies the pressure that Mr. John Foster Dulles is exercising upon France to bring about "European unity" in the European Defence Community.

Two wars, it has been claimed, have been fought to destroy the terrible threat of German militarism. At the end of the second of these wars a new constitution was constructed for Germany that, so long as it was observed, would make it impossible for a large German army to be recruited once more.

All the leading statesmen of the world had complete certainty that this was necessary, and they found themselves in the fortunate situation that the great mass of the German population agreed with them.

Less than five years were to pass and, with

## BEHIND THE NEWS

the exception of France, all the leading statesmen of Western Europe and of America had become convinced that their earlier confident decision had been a mistake and that it was necessary to bring the German people to an acceptance of rearmament and a renewal of military conscription.

The fact that they had been mistaken a few years earlier raised no doubts in their minds about their present wisdom.

They were now equally certain that they had been wrong before but right now. Except the French; but everybody knows about the fickle instability of the French.

### Hitler tried it

The irony goes deeper, however. One of the things that Hitler offered—or with which he threatened—Europe, was unity. There was to be a "New Europe," such was the term, and it was to be imposed as a result of a German victory; naturally therefore it would be a new Europe in whose unity Germany would be dominant.

But Hitler was not victorious and this new and unified Europe was not constructed by him. Eight years afterwards, however, Mr. Dulles, head of the US State Department, calls and has a discussion with Dr. Adenauer, the leader of the German people; on the following day, at the meeting of the NATO Council, he makes it clear to the French, that the French have so many months to decide to ratify the European Defence Treaty, and accept German rearmament and the new Europe—or else—!

### After Nuremberg

ALFRED KRUPP, head of the immense Krupp undertakings in Germany, was released from prison in 1951, having served only part of the sentence imposed upon him at Nuremberg.

His firm has been expanding at a rapid rate and is concerned with projects involving steel processing and civil engineering in a great many parts of the world. Alfred Krupp says that he is no longer interested in manufacturing arms and the management have said: "We shall never produce guns again." We wonder whether it will be in 1954 that under American pressure the policy will be changed and Krupp will begin the manufacture of armaments again, or whether it will take until 1955.

### A gleam of hope

THE return of Senator Nixon, US Vice-President, from his tour in the Far East, coincided with the three-day conference between President Eisenhower and his Congressional leaders, and with the sharpening of the political conflict between the Administration and Senator McCarthy, due to the belief that the President is moving towards some understanding with China.

Before his tour Senator Nixon had tended to support the view of Senator Knowland and the McCarthyites that Communist China must always be hostile to America and could not be tolerated. Senator Nixon's visits to str-

## Eisenhower and the atomic dilemma

I SPENT most of last week at what turned out to be a very successful Conference on the Church and Peace held in Detroit under the auspices of the Church Peace Mission.

This is the agency established in May, 1950, after a similar conference in Detroit, and brings together all the Christian pacifist bodies in this country including Mennonites, Quakers, Brethren, Fellowship of Reconciliation, and a dozen denominational peace or pacifist fellowships.

Peace News will doubtless soon carry a report on this conference and I may wish to comment on it. However, it seems almost inevitable that the present letter should be devoted to a report on the reactions on this side to President Eisenhower's address at the UN on December 8, and to some attempt at evaluation of its meaning.

The at least seemingly bold proposal that governments in a position to do so make contributions from their stockpile "of normal uranium and fissionable materials to an international atomic energy agency" and that the materials should be used to supply needs in such fields as medicine and agriculture and especially "to provide abundant electrical energy in the power-starved areas of the world" has, for one thing, to a considerable extent blanketed the publicity about Senator McCarthy's heresy-hunting activities.

### Restoring a waning prestige

Taken together with the firm rejection by Eisenhower and Dulles of McCarthy's demand that the US attempt to "forbid" Britain and other Allies to engage in "blood-trade"—McCarthy's phrase, of course, not Muste's—with Communist China, the President's proposal for an atomic energy pool apparently indicates that he now intends to exert much more initiative than has been the case since he took office.

The restoration of waning prestige at home is almost certainly one of the important objectives the Republican high Command had in mind in working out the President's dramatic appearance at the UN.

Reports received here indicate that in Western Europe and elsewhere the President's move has had the effect of arousing hopes that the US is more ready than she has been thought to be to explore the possibilities of relaxing tension and perhaps achieving a settlement of vexed problems. In view of the difficulties being experienced in holding the

Atlantic alliance together, it was imperative that the prevalent anti-Americanism be at least in part dissipated, and this may safely be taken as another factor in the decision to make the UN speech.

There is speculation as to whether even more terrible weapons than those to which Eisenhower alluded have been produced or are in sight. This may well be the case. If it is, however, those in the know have been tight lipped. There have been no "leaks."

Of course, even if no hitherto unsuspected weapons are in the picture, recent developments in the atomic field have posed serious military problems, which—more important—involve deep political implications.

Among the military problems is the one posed by the disposition here to cut down on man-power, including forces in Europe, and depend upon Atomic weapons. As someone pointed out, "increased dependence for defence upon the incredibly costly and complex weapons of the present time means absolute dependence of smaller nations, unable

### LETTER FROM U.S.A.

By A. J. Muste

even to begin manufacturing them, upon their great-power Allies."

The contemplation of such problems is very painful, and it may well be that as the NATO conference opens and the Four Power Foreign Ministers' Conference looms, Eisenhower wished to provide some diversion and relief by conjuring up the vision of peaceful uses of atomic energy.

The Soviet Union has not summarily dismissed the Eisenhower proposal, nor could it afford to be put in the wrong by doing so. We must hope and pray that serious discussions may take place.

I regret to say that I cannot think that strong optimism is warranted.

Eisenhower himself suggested that his proposal furnished a way of by-passing for the time being the impasse relative to control of atomic weapons, the "irritations and mutual suspicions incident to any attempt to set up a completely acceptable system of worldwide inspection and control."

But does this plan furnish a way to by-pass the problem of the armaments race? The race in atomic weapons is to go on while the small experiment is discussed, perhaps tried.

tegic places in the Far East are believed to have modified his previous view and it is thought that he now intends to support Eisenhower's policy, as against McCarthy.

It would be over-optimistic to expect the Administration to propose the recognition of the Peking Government in the immediate future, but the influence of Senator Nixon may be decisive in preventing McCarthy foisting on Congress the policy of the mailed fist.

There seems to be a greater possibility now of a more reasonable American policy in regard to China, and even a decision by the Administration that they would not oppose any renewed proposals for the recognition of the Peking Government by UN.

If President Eisenhower should re-establish his leadership of the Republican Party in face of the new challenge of Senator McCarthy, his success would be reflected by a more reasonable attitude of the Party towards the fear of Communism at home, and of the Administration towards Communist countries abroad.

### The Colonial Policy Debate

IF the challenge to the Government's colonial policy on December 16 had come from the small group in the Labour Party among whose spokesmen are Mr. Fenner Brockway and Mr. Leslie Hale there could have been a genuine assault upon the fundamentals of the policy that the Government is pursuing.

As the proposed censure was presented as an official Labour Party motion, however, it could only represent a piece of shadow-boxing, and Mr. Lyttelton had little difficulty in showing that this was so.

For the fact of the matter is that in its essentials the colonial policy pursued by this country is a bi-partisan affair, kept out of the party clash to an even greater extent than are the issues of foreign policy.

Year after year Labour Party conferences show clearly how little attention organised labour has felt it necessary to give to the principles of colonial policy.

It is only upon secondary matters of administration that any genuine disagreement develops between the parties. Much of the argument as to which is pursuing the common policy more satisfactorily is quite evidently mere party manoeuvring.

"Conservatives, Liberals and Socialists," said Mr. Lyttelton, "all believe in giving an ever-increasing share in the management of affairs to African peoples." He went on to remark that there is no argument about this, and that is true: all parties agree in "giving" an increasing share in management. What none of them are prepared to do, now or in the foreseeable future, is to admit that Africans, as Africans, may exercise real control over their own affairs.

There may in the distant future be a "partnership" in which, say, 200,000 Africans will stand as an equal partner beside 2,000 Europeans; there is not to be in Africa, as long as it can be resisted, anything comparable to the kind of democratic self-government that exists in the countries of Western Europe.

There is only one way in which the term "partnership" in the sense in which it is used today can have any moral significance, and that is if there is a partnership between the two races in bringing the Africans to the stage at which they are to control their own affairs.

To have reality it would be necessary for such a partnership to be linked to target dates for the achievement of independence in the colonies, as advocated by Mr. Leslie Hale, and reported in Peace News on December 11.

Which will be the dominant factor?

Perhaps Eisenhower unwittingly gave the answer to that question in his graphic description of the might of America's atomic arsenal. Why should the Kremlin not come back with its familiar proposition: "If you are serious in what you say about atomic weapons, why not begin by prohibiting their use and manufacture?"

Even apart from this consideration, as soon as the plan is moved from the realm of generalities into specifics, it is clear that it will probably raise all the problems which have bedevilled the effort to establish inspection and control of weapons.

### The old deadlock

It would involve exchange of atomic information on a scale which almost certainly neither the Kremlin nor the US Senate is prepared to consider. All the problems of what facilities various Powers have, the ratios they should contribute, seem bound to arise.

Would the Soviet Union now want such matters decided by a UN in which it is consistently outvoted? I cannot but think that the New York Times' chief correspondent at the UN is correct in concluding that "the debate would wind up where Mr. Baruch and Mr. Gromyko stopped."

Two closing observations. Atomic Energy Commission chairman, ex-Admiral Lewis L. Strauss, focussed attention on the point that "the power-starved areas of the world look to us and our technology." This reminds one of the emphasis the Soviet Union has put on "benign uses" of atomic energy.

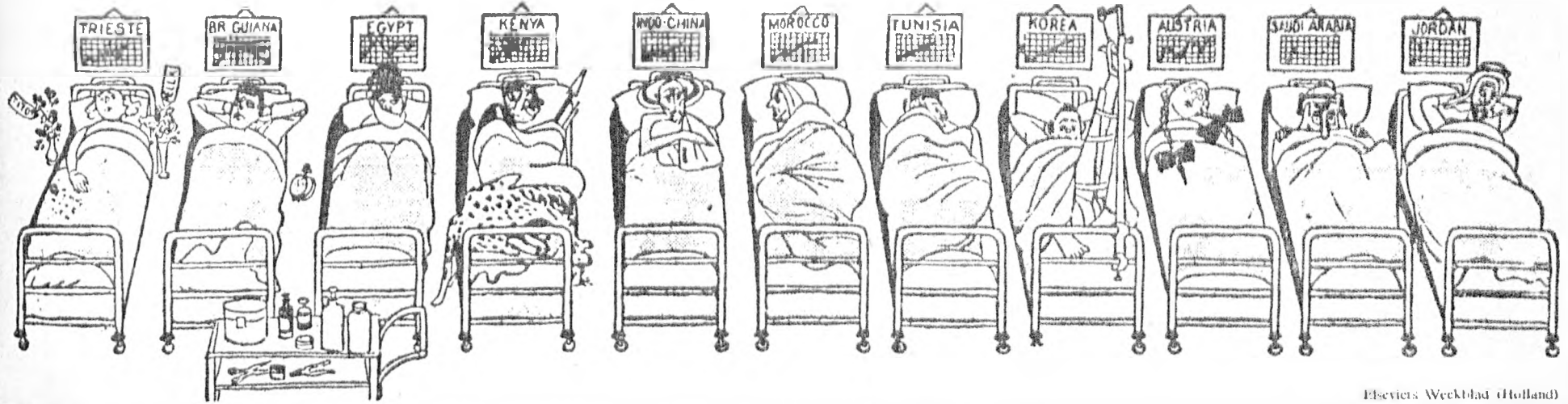
Is it possible that Eisenhower is aware that the latter may be in a position before long to offer help to some power-starved areas, and wished to offset the appeal this would have for such areas?

My chief reflection is that the American people given the grace to repent would have mitted at Hiroshima and Nagasaki. No sustained attempt has ever been made by any of our leading thinkers—whether secular, Jewish, Protestant, or Roman Catholic—to teach them the enormity.

Now we would like to "slam the lid down on Pandora's box of atoms." I think only a people given the grace to repent would have the wisdom and strength to help the world achieve that goal and thus wipe out the folly, the wickedness, and the shame of its decision to catapult the world into the era of atomic war.



## The World's Hospital



Elsevier's Weekblad (Holland)

### YOUR WORLD AT CHRISTMAS

**BRITAIN:** Restrictions on the export of arms to Spain are to be relaxed. The Minister of Food, Major Lloyd George said that it was not in his power to employ licensing regulations to prevent racial discrimination in hotels and catering establishments. The Green Park Hotel had stated in correspondence that it is its policy to enforce a colour bar. 10,932 wartime deserters are still unaccounted for. 3,068 took advantage of the amnesty granted earlier this year. Steps are to be taken to resume the conscientious objectors' tribunal in Leeds which has not been sitting since August. COs have had to travel to Birmingham or Manchester.

**CENTRAL AFRICA:** In the elections to the first central African federal parliament the Federal Party of Sir Godfrey Huggins, one-time Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, has swept the board.

**KENYA:** 153,398 persons have been arrested since the emergency began. On October 24, 355 Africans were on remand awaiting trial, 10,497 were in prisons throughout the country, 1,497 were in detention camps and 97 Kikuyu had died in captivity.

**USA:** One half of all the coal ever consumed has been burned since 1920 and half the oil and gas ever consumed has been burned since 1940. The annual world burn-up of sources of energy in 1950 was 10 times that of 1850.

**SWITZERLAND:** Experiments in the decentralisation of industry are showing that it is of indubitable advantage to the localities benefiting by it. The Bulletin of the Swiss Bank Corporation says "The money earned in the workshop is added to the yield of traditional agriculture, of which it is as it were, the complement. Local trade is stimulated. Industrial decentralisation may well, in the long run, have a favourable influence on the whole Swiss economy."

### The atoms do it too!

In a description of the atom Mr. Earl Ubell says in the New York Herald Tribune: "The picture inside the core is one of bedlam. Atoms and v-particles flying around and colliding with neutrons and protons, somewhat like blindfolded birds in a cage. The particles recombine, break apart, and combine again." How like a picture of what goes on outside the core!

### STRIKE WHILE THE IRON IS HOT

The title bears no reference to the threatened railway strike which is still planned as I write, although all will be sincerely hoping that a settlement may be reached which will secure justice for all concerned and avoid the extra difficulties which a stoppage over Christmas would involve. What it does urge is that you should respond to the appeal for the Peace Pledge Union's Headquarters Fund while it is still fresh in your mind. Whatever else may happen, banks and post offices will be open, except for the normal holidays, and if posts are delayed, your cheque or postal order will reach us eventually, and we are keeping our books open until January 9.

Owing to the present Christmas rush this appeal has to be sent in earlier than usual and before there is time to judge the full effect of its predecessor, but I can say that the result so far is encouraging, and I want to thank all those who have responded, some of them anonymously. I shall have one further opportunity of reporting progress. Please, please, make it possible for me to announce then that we have again reached our aim of £1,000 for the year.

You will be reading this at Christmas, and I want to send from all at Dick Sheppard House our very best wishes that whatever may be the external circumstances at home or abroad, you will have a happy time with many expressions of goodwill and a real sense of peace. May the understanding of what Christmas really means and a readiness to accept its consequences become the basis of international relationships, as it is the inspiration of our continued work for peace.

STUART MORRIS,  
General Secretary.

Amount received to date: £695  
Your Christmas gift: ?  
Our aim for 1953: £1,000  
Donations to the Peace Pledge Union should be sent marked "Headquarters Fund," to the PPU Treasurer at Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1.

## Canon Raven accepts Patriarch's invitation TO VISIT RUSSIA NEXT YEAR

CANON RAVEN, President of the Fellowship of Reconciliation and former Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge University, has accepted an invitation from the Patriarch of Moscow to visit Russia.

This was announced by Canon Raven during the course of a public meeting which he addressed in Southend on "What we can do for Peace."

Canon Raven, who is a Chaplain to the Queen, told his audience that he did not believe the arguments used through the ages by sophisticated Christian thinkers to enable them to acquiesce in a "just war" were applicable to war as it had become.

War today meant the indiscriminate killing and torture of millions of people just because they happen to belong to a locality under enemy control. It meant the sort of thing that had devastated Korea—the scorching of human beings by fire bombs—the sort of thing that had happened at Hiroshima.

"I do not think any intelligent person can justify that without tearing up his Christian convictions," he said.

### Not the way to a better world

At this critical moment in world history peace was a matter not only for great leaders but all human beings. It had been proved that a people got the kind of Government it deserved and the kind of destiny it deserved.

He believed profoundly it was most important to bring home to the people of this country the need for peace because they had a tremendous and unique responsibility. "Whatever our attitude to pacifism we can at least look at this question in the light of our Christian conviction," he said. "I suppose we all feel that the first thing we can do for peace should be done through the churches. We are members of various denominations but we are banded together in Christ."

"Surely it is perfectly plain we cannot follow Christ's example and accept responsibility for war."

"Our primary obligation as Christians is to take our religion with a new seriousness—not to go on making the best of both worlds."

"The way of war is not the way to bring in a better world. There is the obligation to our country. It is not that we do not desire peace as individuals but feel, as members of a community, that some of its resources should be spent in rearmament."

"This is in spite of the myriad warnings in history of the fallacy of 'To prepare for peace prepare for war'."

He believed an appeal to fear only bred fear. An appeal to hate only produced hate. The way of war instead of securing peace stimulated those passions and emotions which fed the will to war.

### Mau bombing—a warning

"The right way to fight Communism is to relieve distress," said the Canon. Magnanimous and constructive statesmanship might prevent the spread of Communism in India and Asia.

Asked if the use of Lincoln bombers in Kenya against Mau Mau was compatible with Christian ethics, the Canon said:

### A LEAD BRITAIN SHOULD FOLLOW

The Danish Government has said that it does not find it appropriate at present to accept NATO's offer to station allied air forces in Denmark in peacetime.

The Government decided recently not to proceed with the enlargement of two airfields which had been put in hand by the previous coalition Government.

### Churchmen condemn Kenya terror

A statement issued by Church leaders in Kenya, including the Bishop of Mombasa, says:

"We feel it our duty to record the abhorrence with which we have read the published record of evidence given before a civil court and a recent court-martial. We know our feelings are widely shared. We have repeatedly expressed at the highest level our grave concern at the abuses of power by certain members of the forces of law and order."

### PLIGHT OF U.N. DELEGATES

from MARTIN JACKSON

UNITED NATIONS delegates are unprepared for the revision conference due to be held in 1955. Mr. James Avery Joyce, prospective Labour parliamentary candidate for Norwood, told a meeting at Friends House, London, last week.

"They don't know where they are going or how to get there. Far too many of them are completely under the influence of their foreign offices."

Mr. Joyce, who recently returned from the UN Assembly in New York was talking to a joint meeting organised by Federal Union and the Crusade for World Government.

He attended the sessions of the Assembly's Sixth Committee which discussed preparatory work on UN reform. He complained:

"The big power conflict kept breaking in. Delegates from the Communist countries insisted UN Reform was an American stunt. Most of the time was taken up by this cold war prattle."

Mr. Joyce stressed the need for campaigning for a revised UN Charter to turn the organisation into a world federal government.



### AT SCHOOL IN SEVAGRAM

Basic education techniques are taught in schools like this at Sevagram, the Basic Education Centre to which some of IDPA's trainees have been sent. Part of the students' education is to prepare meals for the school as these three young men are doing.

## First report from the mid-twentieth century pioneers

THE International Development Placement Association, the organisation which assists qualified young people who wish to do "War on Want" work in needy areas of the world, has just published its first annual report.

It is a lively and interesting account of the first official year of life of a vital pioneering organisation. The main concern of IDPA is to obtain information on development projects and on the personnel anxious and fitted to work on such projects—then to put the two together.

Basic Education work at Sevagram, Gandhi's centre in India; agriculture in Uganda; university work in Indonesia; teaching in Iraq—these are some of the jobs being done by men and women placed through IDPA. The emphasis of the Association is on service. Most of the jobs do not carry high salaries, and may often require to be performed at the risk of physical privation and danger to health. IDPA asks for recruits who are willing to accept this as part of their service work.

What kind of people apply for IDPA jobs? The Report says: "It would not be an exaggeration to say that all kinds of people come to IDPA—people who want to do good, people who want romance and adventure, people who want to run away from their environment."

"But the average applicant is a mid-twentieth century pioneer who wants to help in the development of the world's economy and who sees that the great frontier that remains to be opened is the frontier which affords a decent standard of life to all people."

"Sometimes the IDPA applicant is a person who wants to gain valuable experience abroad under difficult conditions. Later he hopes to apply this experience to a full-time career with agencies like the United Nations and the Point Four Programme."

"Occasionally he is a person who feels limitations in his present environment which

might not exist in young, vital countries that are entering the new world of science and technology with a spirit of flexibility and daring that is missing in some of the western countries that are old to the ways of this century."

Further information for intending applicants and others can be obtained from IDPA's office at Carnegie Endowment International Centre, 345 East 46th Street, New York 17, New York, USA.

### Flash-back Peace News

Just what did the peace movement do in 1953?

Next week's Peace News will tell you, IN PICTURES!

The events and people who helped to take the world a little further along the road to peace and freedom in that year will be recalled in two pages of pictures and stories.

You helped to make those events too. Buy an extra copy and pin it up on the wall. Better still, send it to a friend in Reykjavik or Burnley or Omsk. If you haven't got a friend send us the money and we'll do the rest.

But whatever you do—don't miss next week's issue.

Copies of Peace News for free distribution may be obtained at 2s. 6d. dozen post free from 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4. (News wrappers 3d. dozen extra.)



VERA BRITTAIN concludes

# Humanity versus Policy

In the first part of her article, published last week, Vera Brittain compared the impersonal brutality of man to man displayed at Hiroshima, Belsen, Buchenwald and Dresden with the compassion witnessed after the North Sea floods and the Harrow rail disaster and asked: "Which aspect of mankind is the truer picture?"

WHATEVER the answer, most of our everyday social regulations are based upon a well-justified expectation of decency, kindness and commonsense in the majority of men and women.

Our traffic laws rest on the supposition that most travellers will respect each other's safety, and refrain from running somebody down the moment that they take to the road.

Our postal system reflects a soundly-based assumption that the mass of mankind can be trusted with other people's possessions.

Governments and local authorities alike would soon cease to function if they could not count on forethought, consideration, and reliability in the ordinary man and woman.

Why then do human beings so readily allow their virtues to be prostituted, their native goodness impaired? The explanation is often given, and sometimes accurately, as a failure of imagination, that quality which William Blake described as "the real and eternal world of which this vegetable universe is but a faint shadow."

## Civilians and soldiers

"Everyone must have noticed during the war," wrote Bernard Shaw in 1919 in the Preface called *FAMILY LIFE IN GERMANY UNDER THE BLOCKADE*, "the contrast between the ferocity of our civilians and the reasonableness and compunction of our soldiers from the front . . . It means that the civilian neither sees nor knows what he is doing, and that the soldier sees it and has to do it."

But though numerous people are sensitive only to the suffering under their eyes, lack of imagination alone does not account for every example of inconsistent behaviour. Many of the individuals who hastened to send valuable parcels of clothing to Lynmouth or Canvey Island came from distant parts of Britain, and even from foreign countries, geographically no nearer to the flood victims than Londoners to the mothers and children who perished by drowning in the German valleys. Yet in the one case imagination functioned, and in the other it did not. Again we can only ask why.

One answer lies in the sinister power of modern war propaganda, whether the war involved be "hot" or "cold." If Truth, as Lord Ponsonby wrote, is the first casualty in war-time, the power to feel compassion is certainly the second. Only a mentally blunted minority of human beings are naturally cruel, but callousness, and especially mass callousness, can be and has been created.



LORD PONSONBY  
Truth the first casualty

The weapon now described as "psychological warfare" is perhaps the worst feature of modern war, since instead of attacking the body it corrupts the spirit.

Three centuries ago, when Milton produced the splendid invective of *AREOPAGITICA*, propaganda was a high art which sought not to corrupt but to persuade. It has been said that his pen was worth as much to the Parliamentarians as Goebbels' broadcasts to the Nazis, but the executioners of Charles I did not require Milton to violate the humanity of his enemies, or to commit those crimes against their moral and spiritual integrity of which Nazi and Communist alike have been guilty.

The modern deterioration of propaganda from a noble literary instrument into a pseudo-refined form of barbarism is itself worthy of study by psychologists.

## Decency and ruthlessness

A second explanation of the gap between human decency and political ruthlessness lies in the fact that the State and its laws invariably lag far behind the van of public opinion. The legal system of any country tends to become that which is acceptable to the lowest common denominator of national morality. As the Scottish poet, the late William Soutar, wrote in *BUT THE EARTH ABIDES*:

"Men are more gentle than their laws  
Which doom or justify,  
And are more righteous than the cause  
For which they kill or die."

This representation by the State of the baser rather than the finer aspirations of man's humanity has two consequences.

First, it leaves the "lowest common denominator" without any incentive to spiritual reformation, since his standards are those which appear to be officially upheld.

Secondly, it offers to the better citizens a socially approved outlet for the more violent instincts which they normally suppress, and even dresses up these instincts in the martial glad-rags of patriotic virtue.

The basic dilemma of our time consequently lies in a perpetual conflict between the morality demanded from us as individuals by our churches, schools, and civic duties, and the immorality which the State accepts and even commends.

Formidable as this problem undoubtedly is, we have observed in recent years occasional pointers towards one or more solutions. Not least encouraging is the growing recognition by teachers, preachers, writers, and other leaders of the people that State immorality, though it appears at odds with decent human impulses, begins like those impulses in the individual heart, and can there be overcome.

When Tom Hopkinson, in a series of articles in the *Sunday Express*, described many marriages as examples of "undeclared war," he was in fact stating, though perhaps unintentionally,



RESCUE FROM DUTCH FLOODS  
Russia gave thousands of pounds

tionally, that we cannot condemn the politicians for cold wars so long as the chill violence of mutual hostility dominates our personal relationships. If reconciliation is unattainable within a family, what right have its members to demand international peace from statesmen?

# THE ROAD BACK

By Alfred Hassler

The writer is editor of "Fellowship," monthly journal of the American Fellowship of Reconciliation, in which "The Road Back" first appeared.

are we all to become shepherds? In that case, who should rule? Or are all to be wise men, and then who should do the work?"

"To be more explicit—" Melchior turned a large diamond ring thoughtfully among its fellows on his fingers—"consider the economic implications of such 'brotherhood.' We are rich; they are poor. We are powerful; they are weak. I need not say more to a man of such wisdom as you, Balthasar."

Balthasar nodded ruefully.

"I am newly impressed by the profundity of your thinking—both of you," he said. "My own had not gone to such specifics. The brotherhood of which I spoke was more, in my mind—their essential worthiness—in the sight of the Eternal."

"This by all means," agreed Melchior soberly.

"We are creatures of the One Creator," intoned Caspar.

□ □

Silence fell upon them again, but it was the silence of minds in harmony. It was Melchior who broke it for the second time.

"The sense of aura has become so highly developed in you, friend Balthasar, I would know what else you sensed in our visit. Had you any premonition about the Child and His mission?"

"Most certainly," Balthasar replied promptly. "Never have I perceived one emphasis so strongly. The aura was love. Justice was there, too, and righteousness, and sacrifice, but all so permeated by love as to have been changed almost out of recognition by our accustomed definitions."

"Ah," said Melchior vaguely. "Yes of course. Love. Of course."

"Victory, too, I take it?" suggested Caspar. "The Promised One—the Deliverer—there must have been a strong aura of victory."

"Well," Balthasar seemed to grope for the memory, "yes, in a way. Victory, of course, but—like the others—so changed and modified as to be almost unrecognizable in our terms. The love—it altered everything. Caspar. Love in every situation. Love willing to suffer rather than inflict suffering. Love of enemies." He paused, wagged his head. "It was very strong."

"Love of enemies," Melchior repeated doubtfully. "It has a strange sound for One who brings the vengeance of the Most High."

"It is asking much of you, dear Balthasar, I know," said Caspar. "It was, after all, only an impression, but did you—could you—in the light of that impression, see the Deliverer taking the sword to the hated oppressor?"

## OUT OF THE YEARS

Out of the Years, by Rosa Waugh Hobhouse. Ditchling Press, 6s.

ROSA WAUGH HOBHOUSE'S many friends and admirers will be delighted to see this second book of her poems, "Out of the Years," with its beautiful drawing by Edna Clarke Hall of the author as a young girl.

Rosa Hobhouse has chosen to include poems written, I believe, in her teens, with those of more recent years, and consequently the book varies greatly in power and technique. But all the freshness and candour which Lawrence Binyon commented on over twenty years ago remain, and several of the more recent ones are also fine vehicles for the expression of a sensitive and fearless spirit. We might all wish that more of the poems commemorating the Coronation of Elizabeth II had had the austerity and tenderness of that on page 73, beginning "Such weight of tribute! such excess of honour."

Very different, but equally lovely, is a little lyric which I gave myself the pleasure of quoting in full:

How shaken was my heart last night  
With tears before I slept,  
And yet it was a golden thought  
That spurred me as I wept:  
For is not love a golden thought  
At which full many weep?  
And since my grief came unawares  
Swift-gathered from the deep,  
Perhaps it was my soul had need  
Of tears to fall asleep.

There are many others which I believe have an equal chance of pleasing the poetry lover.

GWYNETH ANDERSON.

At the time of the Assam earthquake, Pakistan came forward instantly with a substantial gift of grain, though the Indo-Pakistan conflict over Kashmir was still unresolved.

Similarly, during the North Sea floods, Russia gave thousands of pounds towards the repair of the damage to both England and Holland, and Germany, as though in a gesture of forgiveness for the war-time breach of her dams, became one of the first European countries to send practical aid.

Decency on the part of uncorrupted individuals appears to be a reaction on which society can count.

When States start in earnest to emulate the goodness of the ordinary people, the foundations of a bridge across the gulf between private and public morality will have been laid, and mankind can go forward with the hopeful slogan of courage on its banner—"Sursum Corda!"



"No" Balthasar seemed a little surprised at his own vehemence. In a milder voice he continued, "The truth is, Caspar, I could not even see Him taking the sword for his own defence. I can see him refusing to take the sword, in love. I can see him denouncing evil, while loving the evil-doer. I can see him—his voice faltered a little—"taking evil on himself, without ever retaliating and without ever shutting off his love. That is what I can see."

"I suspect," said Melchior drily, "that your precognitive faculties may not have been at their usual high level Balthasar."

"You think I am wrong. Why?"

"In the first place," said Melchior, ticking the points off on his jewelled fingers, "this is not the kind of Deliverer we were led to seek. Second, he would rouse no enthusiasm among the people. Third, he would upset the whole accustomed order of things. Finally, it will not work."

"In short," added Caspar, "the sort of thing you have outlined is just not practical."

"In what way?" inquired Balthasar stubbornly.

"Be realistic," urged Caspar good-humouredly. "When you speak in the kind of generalities you used it doesn't sound so bad. In fact, it has an appeal to something that lies deep inside each of us. It is when you try to apply it to real situations that its essential impracticality shows up."

"Give us an example of the kind of thing you mean, Caspar," urged Melchior.

□ □

"Well," Caspar thought rapidly—"almost any ordinary situation would do. Suppose, for example, a man were to walk with his wife down a road and she was suddenly assaulted by a ruffian. What would your man of love do in such a situation?"

"I have a feeling," said Balthasar drily, "that like so many of your pithy formulations, Caspar, that one will not go unrepented."

Caspar looked at him sharply.

"I do not like you when you become sarcastic, Balthasar," he said. "In any case, and whatever your perceptions may have been, I predict that when He has reached our age he will have modified these ideas substantially."

Melchior looked at them both sombrely.

"Only one thing I am sure about," he said. "If He attempts to live in the way our friend Balthasar surmises, he will never reach our age."

He dug his heels viciously into the camel's side.

"Get along, you beast of many bones!" he commanded. "I would not live out the rest of my years on this cursed road!"



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## INDIAN OPINION

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social advancement of Indians  
in South Africa

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## Talking Point

# TOO MANY PEOPLE?

By Frank Hancock

IF you are a straphanger to and from your  
work, and you are cooped up in two rooms  
in an in-law's house, if your child is in an  
overcrowded class with fifty other children,  
and for a good part of the year you get one  
egg per person per week, you may have  
pondered whether it is a service to anyone to  
bring another body into a world of shortages.

Just round the corner you know of a  
family of six or more in two rooms; across  
the seas you know of millions who go through  
life, hungry.

The warning cry comes from almost every  
country, "We have too many hungry people."  
The Canadian press foresees that Britain will  
have to emigrate fifteen out of her fifty  
millions. Italy is as badly off. The Far East  
is infinitely worse off. Agricultural methods  
can be improved, deserts irrigated, worked-out  
soil fertilised, and so on. But Nehru warns us  
that all these measures will but cope, for a  
definitely limited time, with the expected  
increases in population, and will never affect  
the many millions of half starved people now  
existing.

★

If we cannot plan our food production  
according to our population, we must plan  
our population according to our resources.  
Which is what every really good parent does.  
But there is an insidious encouragement to  
increase the number of babies born, for  
"cannon fodder," while in less "civilised"  
countries there is an unthinking mechanical,  
calamitous increase of new babies, who can  
only become famine fodder. It is surely better  
that they should never be born.

A common cause of war has been the need  
of expanding nations for more room, and  
more trade. Even where there is no conscious  
demand for "a place in the sun" the mere  
bulging increases of population in virile  
nations lead to those pressures upon frontiers  
and colonial outlets and markets that have so  
often led to war. One is prompted to ask:  
Is there a right of parenthood in a world that  
cannot feed and house its present population,  
nor give its present families even a fair chance  
of peaceful life?

Mrs. Roosevelt once called for a "Mother-  
hood Strike," until the world was made more  
fit for children to be born into.

"Another baby" is a tragedy in poor over-  
crowded homes. We live in that sort of world.  
Nehru has the courage to recommend birth  
control in India; and the World Pacifist Meet-  
ing in India advocated "conscious control of  
population increase, of which pacifists should  
set an example."

## Undermining!

REFERRING to the Government's claim  
that the establishment in British Guiana  
of the Pioneer Youth League undermined the  
Boy Scouts organisation, Mr. R. Parker,  
Editor of London Forward, speaking at a  
London Co-operative Party meeting at  
Bromley said:

"It would be equally stupid to argue that  
the British Labour Party's League of Youth,  
the British Federation of Young Co-operators  
or the Young Conservative Association were  
guilty of the same thing in this country."

# Letters to the Editor

## Orchard Lea Papers

THE publication of the Orchard Lea Papers  
may turn out to be one of the most  
important things that have happened since the  
war.

Adumbrating, as they do, the conditions of  
a society free from the tensions and fears  
which lead to strife, domination and war, they  
offer a valid long-term solution to the supreme  
problems of the present day.

The question naturally arises: What can we  
do now?

While it may not be feasible or right for  
many of us to take immediate steps to alter  
our manners of living, we can all dig out for  
ourselves the moral principles which underlie  
Mr. Wellock's propositions and strive to live  
them. And, while testing them out on the  
lesser problems of our daily life, we can study  
the achievements of those communities in  
India and elsewhere which appear to have  
largely inspired Mr. Wellock's denunciation of  
our materialistic society.

By so doing we would not only accumulate  
a fund of practical knowledge about the special  
problems of the Creative Society, but we  
would build up the ethical dynamic which  
must be its motive force.

Steps should be taken at once to form a  
Research Group to examine the practical  
implications of Mr. Wellock's thesis.

R. A. JAURAIDE.

Still Waters,  
Wrexham, Norwich.

## Press monitors

AS an enthusiastic regular reader, may I  
pointedly ask how many progressives (by  
which term I lump together all who protest  
against social intolerance in one form or  
another) make full use of the wide opportunities  
now open to them to contact thousands of  
members of the public, here and abroad, seven  
days of the week?

On July 27 this year (a Sunday, when the  
papers really get read) I reached the home of  
over 900,000 Chicagoans with a letter con-  
demning McCarthy, urging restraint on  
militarisation both in the US and in Europe,  
and challenging the conception that to talk  
peace with the Russians is "appeasement"  
and stating that Britishers look to America  
to use the democratic channels still open to them  
to effect a drastic change in US policies. The  
next day another Chicago paper carried the  
letter to a further 400,000 readers, with three  
column headlines.

These two seeds cost 5d., some time, a  
little careful phrasing, and blossomed where  
they were most needed. Since I have sown  
others.

I should be very interested to hear from  
other readers operating as "press monitors"  
or contemplating doing so.

ARTHUR F. WILLIAMS.

The School house,  
Vicarage Lane, London, E.6.

## Community living

I HAVE followed the letters, reviews and  
articles on Community in Peace News,  
starting some months back with "Community  
Gone Wrong" by J. P. Hogan, and wish to  
contribute on the subject.

The creative life of each member (in a com-  
munity group) and hence of the group as a  
whole cannot suffer for long the kind of  
stagnant and patterned constriction of the  
sexual factor that we meet in orthodox society.  
It is the reality of sex that must be faced up  
to absolutely here if harmonious relationship  
is to be possible. And the reality is simply  
that sex is not, and can never be made, an  
exclusive relationship between just two people  
only. The reality of sex is that it is not only

an individual relationship but also a com-  
munity relationship.

This is not to say that the normal factors  
of sex or love attraction will not have their  
proper place. In fact once the individual is  
shown of the "immodesty of conventional in-  
hibitions and repressions" a natural restraint  
and inclination becomes apparent. This  
natural quality is essentially modest, for it is  
not mere reaction to sex barriers or provoca-  
tion. In practice it makes some individuals  
near or even quite "celibate," while others,  
finding their fundamental and true response  
different can naturally, and equally rightly,  
be quite sexually versatile. In this way, as in all  
other ways, the individual finds its fittest com-  
plement in community life. Exclusive forms  
of marriage lose their place as community  
comes to its true and fullest realisation.

The environment as it affects the children  
will reveal the degree of understanding  
reached. If the adults are uninhibited the  
children will be likewise. They in turn may  
then know the true liberation of life and its  
fulfilment which is happiness because it is  
freedom.

HAROLD HANSEN.

New Zealand.

## Payment of taxes

THE short answer to Mr. Downham (PN  
December 18) is that the government of  
this country regard arms expenditure as  
Priority No. 1, and therefore the refusal of  
tax payment by pacifists would weaken only  
the social services.

It is of course possible to live on an income  
below taxable value, but if all pacifists adopted  
this procedure there would be little money  
left over for schemes of practical peacemaking  
—so much more valuable than any negative  
gesture.

The subject is, however, frequently discussed  
by pacifist groups in this country, as in  
America.

"VERONICA."

(Name and address supplied.)

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# ★ DIARY ★

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We nevertheless desire to make it as complete  
a service as we reasonably can, and therefore  
urge organisers of events to:

1. Send notices to arrive not later  
than Monday morning.
2. Include: Date, TOWN, Time,  
Place (hall, street); nature of event;  
speakers, organisers (and secretary's  
address)—preferably in that order and  
style.

ABBREVIATIONS: Anglican Pacifist Fel-  
lowship, APF; Fellowship of Reconciliation,  
FOR; Methodist Peace Fellowship, MPF;  
National Peace Council, NPC; Peace with  
China Council, PWC; Peace Pledge Union,  
PPU; Society of Friends, SdF.

Tuesday, December 29

MANCHESTER: 1-2 p.m.: Deansgate Blitz  
Site. Christian pacifist open-air meeting. Local  
Methodist ministers and others. MPF.

1954

Saturday, January 2

LONDON, S.W.1: 9 a.m. to 4 p.m.: 8  
Claydon St. Poster Parade. "Demand a new  
Colonial Policy." Congress of Peoples against  
Imperialism. Non-violent Resistance Group.  
Room ARB 6894 or STA 2262 for details.  
LUXBRIDGE: 7.30 p.m.: Friends' Mtg. Ho.,  
Belmont Rd. New Year Party. All welcome.  
Claydon CO Fellowship.

Wednesday, January 6

FINSBURY PARK: 7 p.m.: 3 Blackstock  
Rd. Discussion on future programme. Non-  
violent Resistance Group.

Thursday, January 7

LONDON, W.C.1: 1.15-1.45 p.m.: Church  
of St. George the Martyr, Queen Sq. Weekly  
three-hour Service of Intercession for World  
Peace. Conducted by clergy and laymen of  
different denominations.

LONDON, W.C.2: 12.30 p.m.: Lincoln's  
Inn Fields. Open-air meeting. Sybil Morrison  
and Robert Horniman. PPU.  
OXFORD: 7.30 p.m.: 42 Bowness Ave.  
No. 8 bus terminus. Come and help reconstruct  
the Local Peace Pledge Union Group. PPU.

Saturday, January 9

GLASGOW, C.1: 3 p.m.: Community Ho.,  
214 Clyde St. Discussion forum. Church of  
Scotland Peace Soc. FOR.

LONDON, W.C.2: 4.30 p.m.: Westminster  
Friends' Mtg. Ho. New Year Party of London  
Area Peace Pledge Union. Do come and bring  
all your Group with you. PPU.

## INVITATION

The meetings announced in "Notes  
for your diary," are open to all; they  
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organisations sponsoring them or to  
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tion of peace. YOU will be made  
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# THE LORD CHIEF JUSTICE AND THE AMERICAN CAMPS

## Will the Home Secretary face up to this scandal?

**S**IR DAVID MAXWELL FYFE, the Home Secretary, has recently made statements in the House of Commons about the increase of crime associated with homosexuality and has said that the recent visit of high ranking police officers to the USA is due to the desire of the Home Office to inquire into the methods employed by American police authorities in dealing with this problem.

I am sure that the Home Secretary is anxious to do everything in his power to to face the problems with which his department has to deal and, as public attention has now become directed to homosexuality as a result of some recent cases, I ventured to suggest to Sir David Maxwell Fyfe that there is another problem of a similar kind which also calls for inquiry.

I refer to the problem that has arisen in several parts of the country following the establishment of American military camps and air bases in Britain.

### Maxwell Fyfe's reply

On Thursday, December 17, I put the following question to the Home Secretary:

"To ask the Secretary of State for the Department what steps he is taking to deal with the menace in sexual crime due to the presence of United States Air Force Camps in this country."

The question was not reached that day, but I received the following written answer:

I have no evidence to support the suggestion that members of the United States Forces have been responsible for an increase in sexual crime in the accepted sense of the term. It may be that the hon. member has in mind the wider problem of serious immorality which arises in the neighbourhood of service camps, especially when men are serving abroad. The presence of large numbers of men in camps inevitably tends to attract women and girls of a certain type, but the police, who are responsible for the maintenance of public order, are alive to the problem and, with the fullest co-operation of the American authorities take all possible steps to deal with it."

Now what I had in mind in putting the question were the remarks made by the Lord Chief Justice at the Queens Bench Divisional Court on December 10.

### "Open and shameless scandal"

It does not seem that Lord Justice Goddard was quite as satisfied as Sir David Maxwell Fyfe with the situation which he went out of his way to describe as "an open and shameless scandal."

Here is the report of the case as published in the Eastern Daily Press of December 11:

"The facts of this case reveal a deplorable and shocking state of affairs in the borough of King's Lynn due to the presence in the neighbourhood of an American Air Force Camp," said the Lord Chief Justice (Lord Goddard) in the Queen's Bench Divisional Court yesterday.

"It is to be assumed," added his Lordship, "that this has been brought to the attention of the American military authority, who will no doubt do all they can to stop what is nothing more than an open and shameless scandal."

The court allowed an appeal by the Norfolk police from a decision of the Recorder of King's Lynn quashing the conviction of Robert George Mayes, of Keene Road, King's Lynn, on a charge of living in part on the earnings of prostitution.

### CONVICTION RESTORED

Lord Goddard said the conviction would be restored and Mayes (a married man with four children) would serve three months' imprisonment—"the sentence properly passed by the magistrates."

Giving judgement, Lord Goddard, with whom were Mr. Justice Sellers and Mr. Justice Barry, said a considerable number of prostitutes were in the town and it was difficult to understand the finding of the Recorder that they were given, by the Americans, food, drink and clothing but not money. Mayes was a taxi-driver employed by another man, who had been similarly convicted, and they were engaged in the scandalous activity of encouraging and assisting prostitution.

Women went with the Americans in the car driven by Mayes, for which a standard charge of £2 was made to take the Americans back to their camp, and 10s. was charged for shorter journeys. It was contended that no money or reward had been paid to Mayes by any of the women and that the money paid to him by the Americans was for the use of his house and the car. One of the women had stayed at his house for a month on terms that she should pay for her board and lodging by bringing an American to the house at least once a week. She did this and Mayes was paid by the American.

### MONEY EARNED BY WOMEN

The Recorder had come to the conclusion that the Vagrancy Act did not extend to that class of case. It seemed to his Lordship that the money was earned by the women although it was not paid to them, and the Act was wide enough in its terms to cover the offence of which Mayes had been convicted.

His Lordship said he understood that other cases depended on the court's judgment. Each must be decided on its own facts.

Mr. Justice Sellers agreed and said the facts of the case were clearly within the mischief with which the Vagrancy Act was designed to deal. A vital finding of the Recorder was that Mayes knew that the women were prostitutes and exercised direction and influence over their movements.

Mr. Justice Barry also agreed and the appeal was allowed with costs.

Note the strong criticism made by the Lord Chief Justice of the Recorder of Kings Lynn. But is it really facing up to the problem by sending the taxi driver to jail for three months and by sending a letter directing the attention of the American authorities to the matter.

It is as bad as Lord Goddard says it is, then surely these steps are entirely inadequate for dealing with the problem.

### Americans not to blame

Now the problem cannot be disposed of either by indulging in an outburst of anti-Americanism, for nobody who has studied the problem can seriously argue that American soldiers are worse in these matters than say British soldiers were in the first years after the war in occupied Western Germany, when there was a heavy increase in the venereal disease rate due to the increase in prostitution caused by the aftermath of war when German women were forced to sell themselves for bread.

In East Germany, where similar conditions prevailed, the Russian authorities were faced with a similar social problem.

In the latter part of his answer the Home Secretary admits "the presence of large numbers of men in camps inevitably tends to attract women and girls of a certain type."

That is a statement which cannot be denied. And the question that the Home Secretary must now answer is "What steps is he taking to face the problem that he has stated?"

If he shrugs his shoulders, and says that this is not his problem but that of the military authorities he is evading the issue.

For he is a member of the Cabinet, and the Cabinet approves of these camps that have been established in Kings Lynn and elsewhere.

What I would like to suggest to the Home Secretary is that "the deplorable and shocking state of affairs" to which the Lord Chief Justice referred is just as serious as the problem of homosexuality about which he is so much perturbed.

And what have the religious leaders, the MPs and all the other people who are concerned about homosexuality to say about this problem?

Are they prepared to tell the Government that these camps must be disbanded and the American airmen sent home?

## FRANKLIN OF THE N.U.R.

### A pen portrait by Robert Greacen

**I**N the recent negotiations brought about by the strike threat of the railwaymen, H. W. Franklin, the President of the National Union of Railwaymen, had an important part to play.

His present term of office expires at the end of this year, so this may be a singularly appropriate time to take a quick glance at the career of a man who, for three successive years, ranked as chief officer of his Union.

As it happens, the NUR is one of those unions that insist on strict democratic procedure. Although the President is finally decided on by a majority vote of the 77 delegates to the Annual General Meeting, a candidate for Presidency must be nominated by his own Branch—and it is usual for him to have the nomination of a number of other Branches as well.

Mr. Franklin's vigorously and frequently expressed pacifism has not apparently stood in the way of the highest honour his fellow Trade-Unionists can confer.

During the three years of his Presidency Mr. Franklin, in accordance with custom, gave up his job as a Gloucester signaller. He will return to his ordinary work in the New Year. A railwayman all his life, he has been active in NUR affairs for many years and served for 3 years, before becoming President, as a member of their Executive. Keenly interested in Co-operative Society work, he has been a member of several

## A travesty of triumph

During the Potsdam Conference, (1945) the US War Secretary received a message: "Babies satisfactorily born." This meant the atomic bomb trial had succeeded... We had contemplated the desperate resistance of the Japanese fighting to the death... requiring the loss of perhaps a million American lives and half that number of British... Now, in its place was the vision—fair and bright indeed—of the end of the whole war in one or two violent shocks... We seemed suddenly to become possessed of the merciful abridgment of the slaughter in the East... At any rate there was never a moment's discussion as to whether the atomic bomb should be used or not... there was unanimous, automatic, unquestioned agreement around our table... to bring the war to an end, to give peace to the world... by a manifestation of overwhelming power at the cost of a few explosions seemed... a miracle of deliverance...

The President and I no longer felt we needed Stalin's aid to conquer Japan... —Sir Winston Churchill. Vol. VI, The Second World War. Daily Telegraph, December 15, 1953.

**W**E have, perhaps, "supped so full of horrors" that the revelation in the Prime Minister's Memoirs, of complete, and apparently delighted, agreement in the use of the atom bomb on Japan, will no longer shock the British people.

Yet it remains true, that when the first knowledge of it burst upon a world already surfeited with the news of wrecked buildings, shattered dams and tens of thousands of human beings blasted to pieces and drowned, as though (to quote the Archbishop of York) they were no more than "worthless flies," there was suddenly a deep sense of shock and dismay.

Rightly so, since the use of those "babies" so "satisfactorily" conceived in the devil's womb, and brought forth in the horrible evil of war, has stricken the world with a fear that has resulted in even more terrifying and monstrous births, which may well bring about the annihilation of the human race.

★

Yet the Prime Minister, whose gaze is fixed, according to his own words, upon the prize of world peace, had so little sense of the consequences of this dread discovery and its use, that now, eight years afterwards, he can write of it as "a fair and bright vision."

The decision to use a weapon that was to destroy human beings wholesale, to leave

others crawling in their burned and blackened skins upon the roasted earth, and to spread disease and deformity for generations to come, was not only greeted as a "merciful deliverance" and "a miracle," but was accepted without one single question, let alone any sign of uneasiness, as the right course to pursue.

That it would be a "manifestation of overwhelming power" was the main and the overriding consideration, and the Japanese people were, obviously, regarded as less than human, since the phrase "a few explosions," as a description of the effects of the atom bomb, plays down the truth to the depth of a most appalling lie.

The man who writes of this horror as though it were comparable to a few squibs let off by children on Guy Fawkes day, is the man who now seeks to save the world from war by agreeing to the manufacture of even more frightful weapons than the "one or two shocks" which destroyed Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

Since there was no hesitation about the decision to use the atom bomb, and since it was agreed that Stalin, who was also in Potsdam when the fateful message arrived, should not be told, it is scarcely surprising that the Kremlin has no faith in the constant Western protestations that their armaments are only for defence. Particularly as Russia must now know, what Churchill unflinchingly publishes in his latest volume, that Japan had already approached Stalin with a request for peace terms on which to negotiate.

The war could have been ended then, without further slaughter of Americans, or British, or Russians, or Japanese, if the insatiable appetite for overwhelming victory and "unconditional surrender" had not driven ordinary humanity from the field.

★

Churchill calls his last instalment of War Memoirs, TRIUMPH AND TRAGEDY. The tragedy to him is that there was no triumph; he was defeated at the polls when he was certain of success, and victory had not secured peace. The tragedy for the world lies in the fact that its people continue to be governed by those who believe, in spite of all evidence to the contrary, that peace can be secured by war.

If the tragedy of a divided world in conflict is to be turned to the triumph of peace, it will be only by the work and the faith of those who stand, diametrically and unfalteringly, opposed to the doctrines expressed in this book.



H. W. FRANKLIN

easing the sufferings of the unfortunate Korean people, then indeed this Christmas period will be remembered for all time.

Since he wrote those words, the shooting and napaalming in Korea has come to an end, and some kind of peace—uneasy though it may be—actually does exist in that unhappy and divided country. We can at least take heart that men like H. W. Franklin have in some measure created the climate of opinion that has ended that war, and that they use their influence to remind Trade Unionists and others that the menace of war still throws its shadow across every expression of "Happy Christmas and Prosperous New Year."

### SOCIETY OF FRIENDS London and Middlesex Quarterly Meeting Peace Committee

### CONFERENCE FOR COS.

Young men (and women too) who are considering standing as Conscientious Objectors and would like to discuss the matter, are invited to a one-day Conference to be held at Westminster Friends Meeting House, 52 St. Martin's Lane, W.C.2

on Sunday, January 17

commencing at 2.30 p.m.

Speaker: Eric S. Tucker Tea provided  
A postcard to Aubrey Brocklehurst, Friends House, Euston Road, N.W.1 from those hoping to attend would be appreciated (but is not essential).